

117 not like a foreigner bringing in a new religion to his country. We talked for quite a long time and at last he got so worked up as to lose his temper. In order to clinch his side of the matter with more emphasis, he wound up by seizing a fire-brand and giving the fire itself a big blow with it, and then stalked out. That was the very worst thing he could have done for himself and his cause, but the best thing possible for me and mine. The Ainu who were present were astonished beyond measure at this great breach of etiquette. The fireplace is the very seat of the goddess of fire, the great ancestress of the Ainu race. It was a fearful insult to her and to all of them. With that blow both the man and his arguments lost all respect.

354
778
372
574 I found the Ainu a very hospitable people, but
576 sometimes guests would outstay their welcome. What, then, could be done to get them to leave? In such a case Penri told me that his people made a kind of feast which was named "The feast of being sent back, the mouth having been cooked for." By making this feast and calling in a few friends to share it with the guest, a big hint was given him that his absence would be more valued than his presence. When the feast was over the friends would all bid him "good bye!" If he did not take the hint and continued to stay on, the hostess would go with her husband and lodge with a neighbour till he walked off. I have seen this done once only. I thought it was a splendid idea and in the case I have in mind it was not considered as a breach of etiquette, nor did it destroy friendship. It was a well understood proceeding.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927

AB6 Ainu AB6

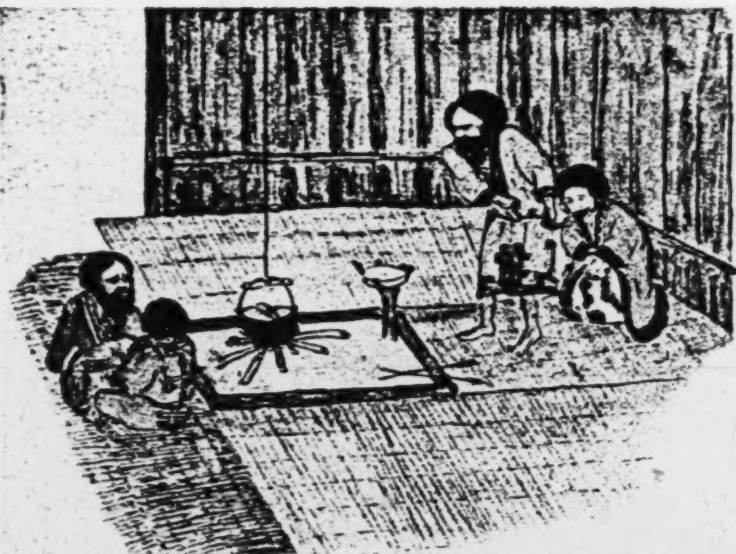
342

585

516

● 354

252



A DAUGHTER BEING GIVEN IN MARRIAGE

(Old Japanese Drawing)

531

585

291



BETROTHED

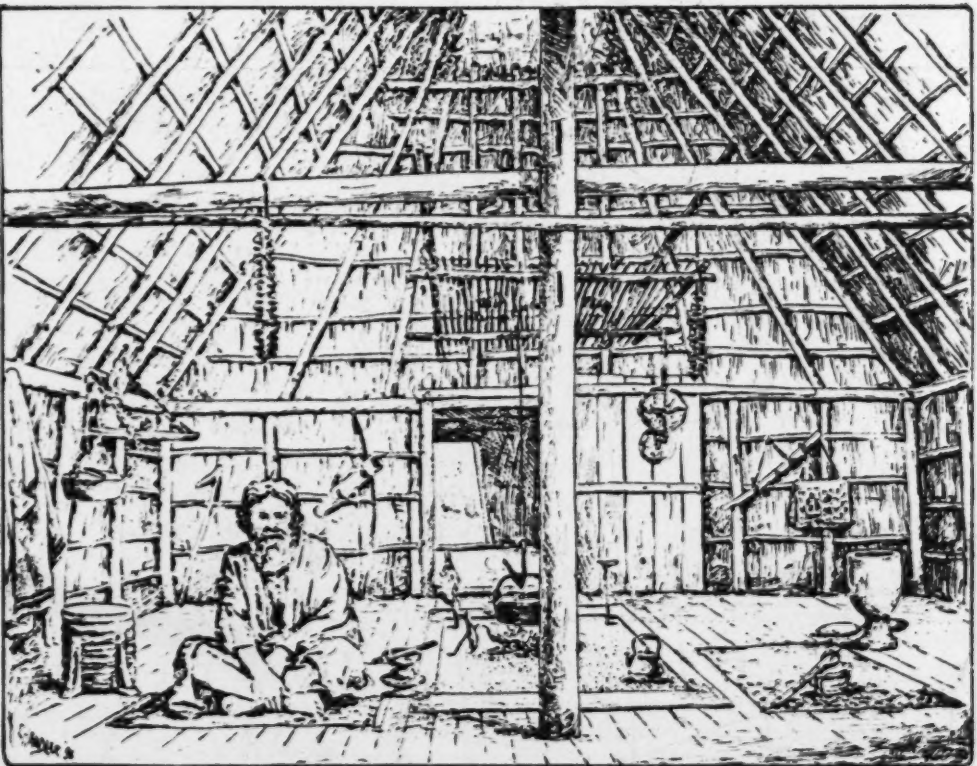
Drawn by T. Katahira; an Ainu

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891

AB6 Ainu AB6

Report of National Museum, 1890.—Hitchcock

PLATE CIII.



INTERIOR OF HOUSE, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 452]

342
353
415
354
516

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

453

floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or more *inao*, or god-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate c, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

460

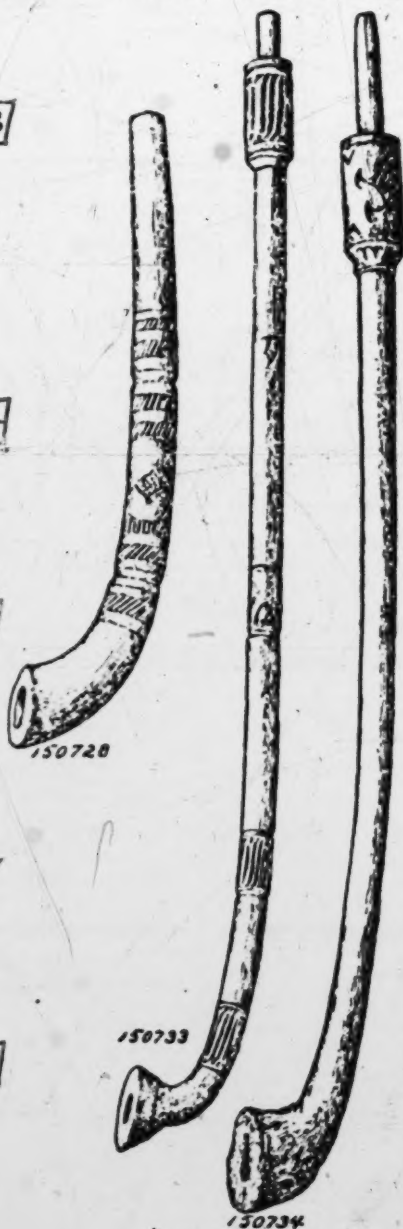
REPORT OF NATIONAL MUSEUM, 1890.

273

276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

[413]

[354]

[276
531]

[562]

273

796

782

FIG. 7A.
AINU TOBACCO PIPES.

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Ainu hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainu consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

495

- Carrying bag.*—Similar to 150678, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohio cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1883. 150684 ¹²⁶ [245]
- Wooden disk.*—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2½ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685
- Wooden bowl.*—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686
- Cloth mitts.*—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [297]
- Ceremonial head dress.*—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1883. 150687 [292]
- Apron.*—Made of ohio cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689
- Inao.*—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [773]
- Inao.*—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691
- Inao.*—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692
- Broiling sticks.*—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1883. 150693 [252]
- Tobacco box and stick.*—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]
- Moustache sticks.*—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Ainu designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695-150699 [413]
- Parts of an Aino loom.*—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohio-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1889. 150700
- Shell for lamp.*—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]
- Tobacco box and stick.*—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]
- Tobacco box and stick.*—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1848. 150703
- Red lacquer cup.*—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704
- Large knife and case.*—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1848. 150705 [441] [415]
- Head necklace and copper ornament.*—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

1. AINU MODE OF TESTING COURAGE.

9

same, several wooden bowls, about five inches in diameter and two deep, were passed round and emptied in no time. The more they drank, the wilder and more melancholy the song became. Only one at a time sang, and he would begin in a very low tone of voice and go up in a *crescendo*, gradually getting awfully excited; then all at once he would stop, as if the effort had been too great for him. His head drooped, and he seemed to sleep. Then, suddenly waking up, coming back to his full senses in a startling manner, he drained one of the bowls, which meantime had been refilled, and resumed the song. The three men were facing each other, and so absorbed were they in their music that, though I was not more than four feet away from them, they seemed to have forgotten me altogether.

I was so impressed with the strangeness of the song that I pulled out my pencil and paper to write down the air. As there was no light but the flicker of the fire, I turned the white leaf of my sketch-book toward it to see what I was writing. This caught the eye of one of the men. He woke up, startled from his musical dream, jumped to his feet, and made a dash for me, yelling some words which I did not understand, and holding over my head something that I could not distinguish at the moment owing to the dimness of the light. Standing thus he paused, evidently waiting for an answer to something he had said. It came from one of the other fellows, who pushed him so violently as to send him sprawling on the floor, while, what he held in his hand—a big, heavy, pointed knife—fell and stuck deep in the ground about an inch from my toes. A dispute arose among themselves, but among the Ainu everything ends up in a drink. The large wooden bowls were again refilled; grand bows were made to me, and they all stroked their hair and beard several times—a sign of great respect. I was then handed one of the bowls and made to swallow the contents. But, heavens! never have I felt any liquid work its way down so far. Had I swallowed fire it could not have been as bad; and, indeed, it was neither more nor less than liquid fire.

As the night was wearing fast, and the old fellows had got on well with their drink, the sing-song became rather too languid and monotonous; and I crept out of the hut as quietly as I had entered it, not without first giving the inmates something for their trouble. I had some difficulty in

123
533
609
273

[35A]

273
123
609
[5X]

above the sea-level. The soil all along is very marshy, and the numerous little rivulets and rivers are extremely troublesome to cross. My pony was continually sinking into and struggling out of mud-holes, into which it had fallen when wading across these small watercourses, sometimes not more than a few feet wide. I pushed on as far as Shimbets, where there are only a shed and a couple of Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes. I had to put up here for the night, and by the light of a wick burning in a large oyster-shell filled with fish-oil I wrote a few notes in my diary. The fleas in that house were something appalling. The next morning I had some fun with a wild pony, which I received in exchange for the tired animal I had brought.

"Nobody can get on him," said the Ainu half-caste, "but if you think you can ride him he will go like the wind."

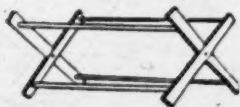
It took all hands in the small village to get the pack-saddle and baggage on to his back, and after we had tied him to a post and lashed his fore legs together I mounted. By instalments he was untied, let loose, and then afforded us some real fun. He revolved, bucked, kicked, stood on his hind legs, and did his very best to bite my legs and knock me off the saddle. A small fence was kicked and smashed into a thousand bits, and he even attempted to enter the huts—anything to get rid of his rider; but he did not succeed. His next trick was to plunge into the river close by, and when he reached the middle to shake himself violently. He then came out on the other side, and, turning his head, saw as well as felt that I was still on his back; then he neighed as if in great distress, and bolted. He galloped along the small track, and really did go "like the wind." As a punishment I made him keep up the pace even when he was tired of his contumacy, and in less than no time I reached Shibets, ten miles distant from where I had started.

Shibets is a village of one hundred Japanese houses and twenty Ainu huts. The Ainu here have almost altogether adopted Japanese clothes, as well as something of the Japanese style of living. The river which goes by the same name is notable for the quantity and good quality of salmon caught in it, and it is the best salmon-fishing river on the north-east coast of Yezo. Herrings are also abundant, but not to the same extent as on the south-east coast.

wine and as an implement in weaving) ; a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree ; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kamnakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMNAKAPPE.



PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."



THE USA.



STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

~~THE OTHER CONTRIVANCE IN AINU HUTS WHICH STRIKES ONE AS~~
 being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. 417
 The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty. The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only. 353
342
350
354

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the 574
609



THE KAMUI

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window. 776
824
[778]

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress¹ and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Under-world under proper auspices. 776
775
[774]
[782]
[842]

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there. 776
775
354 ●
[783]
[844]

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII). 776
[292]

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

¹ *Ehashi, Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ehashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S. [192]
[769]
[114]

342
353
354
302
291



[p. 30, (N)]

PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.

THE INAU

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
 782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*)
 (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned
 above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation
 (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike*
parase) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings.
 Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than
 other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the
 twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning
 the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma*
 meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on
 winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (put-
 ting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip*
 (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
 776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
 778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
 354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*.
 Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the
 Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife
 Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III,
 figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective
inau. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the
 lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual
 impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the
 south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window
 which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups
 of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in
 most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at
 what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a
 crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its
 western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
 [562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
 [782] Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
 [789] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my
 friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more
 powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
 182

THE INAU

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharu and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*¹ given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

¹ Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

HEARTH AND HOME

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk.

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukreckguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four, a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

342
[789]
[776]
[231]
[782]
[778]

342
353
354

[587]

[796]

HEARTH AND HOME

342

353

354

[796]

[782]

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekoguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

354

764

774

354

775

[184]

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abc-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*¹ *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

354

776

774

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

[688]

[586]

[796]

[782]

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

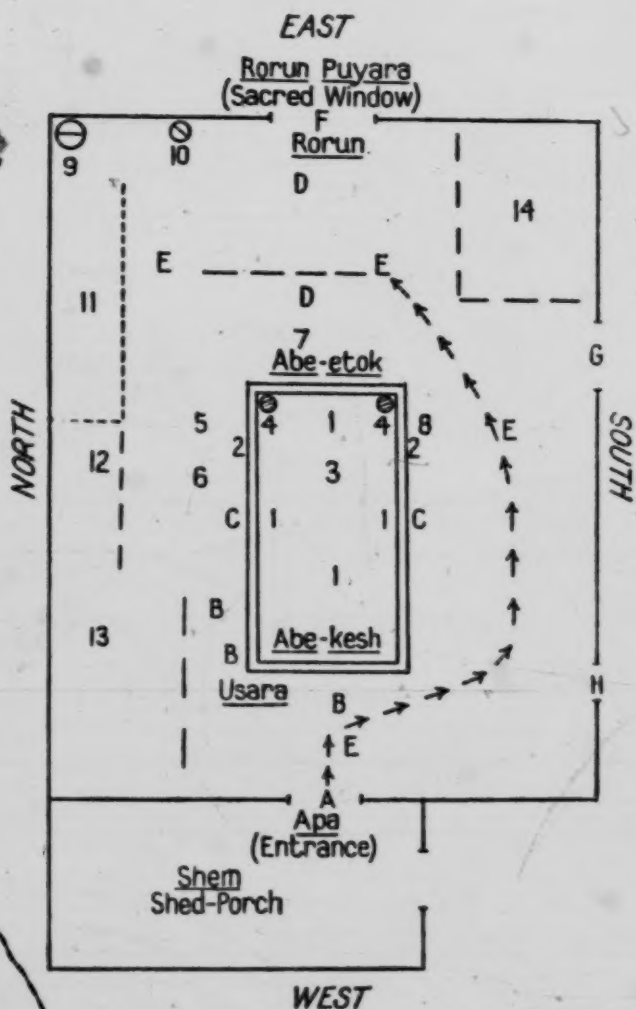
¹ Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

[P. 59]

HEARTH AND HOME

Sacred Fences for Inau
dedicated to various Kamui

342
778
853
354 ●



TEXT FIGURE 2.—Plan of Ainu house.

HEARTH AND HOME

354 sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any
 776 way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed
 778 the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the
 [462] hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder
 would not expose his soles to it.

354 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire,
 776 ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower
 end of the hearth.¹ Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual
 impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari
 Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed
 to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui
 could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was.
 Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than
 between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth
 554 assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes
 according to their social standing. Customary positions are in-
 dicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5),
 with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife
 she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious,
 could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured
 [574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the
 [776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9).
 Among his titles is *Sopa-un Kamui*, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*,
 which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a
shutu inau kamui is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the
 interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the
 far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-
 koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11)
 523 near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being
 [353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained
 [439] in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered.
 [177] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and
 lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasion-
 ally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly
 important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among
 other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer

[844] ¹ After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of
 the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342
796
• 354 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[184] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417]
[582] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the householder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

father or some other suitable elder. This new ~~man~~ must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-*inau-uk* Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.¹ An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

¹ It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
 789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
 354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.¹ Chikube-ni Kamui is then
 796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the
 house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established.
 He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted.
 Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are
 usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way
 Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain
 occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
 796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
 778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
 776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
 782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then
 removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has
 returned to the god who gave it, and residual *maue*² will be
 gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of
 all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil
 spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer
 required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms,
 flattery being a means of ingratiating. Chikube-ni Kamui is ad-
 dressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Opera-
 ting on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked
 with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by
 them, their *maue* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted
 after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on
 dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed.
 Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offer-
 ings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

[114] ¹ In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[192] ² *Maue* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

342
527

[778]

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tukinum*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

342
527

353

[782]

[415]

[415]

[354]

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

342

576

527

[178]

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

[776]

342



1.

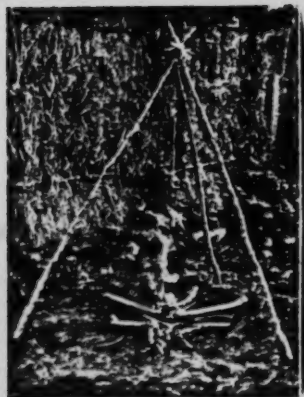
343



342

796

● 354



3.

Fig. 1. House with porch, south side. Fig. 2. Store house. Fig. 3. Tripod (*chisei inoka*) for purification of new house site.

PLATE XXX. HOUSE, STOREHOUSE AND CEREMONIAL TRIPOD.

[p. 78, (N)]

EXORCISM

in childbirth, and there are doubtless more. The following typical methods are practised. A second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and there Uari Kamui takes charge on behalf of Kamui Fuchi, for the purity of the latter must not be sullied, however deep her concern. The 'important' *kamui* are invoked and supplicated, especially Wakka-ush Kamui. Should there be any sign of difficulty Kinashut Kamui is summoned and then the mortar with its pestle is requisitioned. Having been washed and ritually purified at the seat of Ru-koro Kamui it is tilted to and fro so that it moves into the house, all the time being rhythmically beaten with the pestle. This rhythm is continued by the side of the patient and the pestle is waved above her head and over her body to drive away evil spirits. As the hours pass without bringing relief, the remedies become more desperate. One is to summon the spirit of a fresh-water crab and to urge it to save the mother's life by extracting the baby with its 'metal' claws, even if the baby has to die. The last resource is to give her the urine of her husband to drink or some diluted excrement from the privy. The elder who prepares it must taste it first. It makes her vomit and so ejects the evil spirit.

755
844
[354]

[782]

[825]

[237]

[P.7]

II

GROUP STRUCTURE

The Household.

594 The basic unit of Ainu social life was the simple family consisting of a
 591 father, a mother and their unmarried children. The post-marital residence was
 usually virilocal; namely a son, when he got married, built a new house of
 his own near his parent's. But there was no rigid rule of virilocal residence.
 Thus a man sometimes went to live with his wife's father's territorial group
 (pp. 13 and 17).

592 The Ainu dwelling house, *chise*, was built for permanent use, wooden-
 342 framed, rectangular in plan and single-roomed. All the occupants of each
 354 house constituted one household, sleeping, cooking and eating together around
 a fireplace at the centre of the room.

Table 1.

	Local Groups in Upper Tokapchi						Local Groups in Satnai			Total
	Kuttarashi	Nitnap	Pipaushi	Kumaushi	Sanenkoro	Mosushi	Nupokomap	Munhunki	Urekarip	
Names of Local Groups (ca. 1880-1885)										
Total Number of Member Houses Identified	8	7	6	8	4	11	9	3	3	59
Simple family	7	5	4	5	4	9	8	3	3	48
A widow plus her eldest son's family	1			1						2
A widow plus her unmarried children		1	1							2
A widow (? plus her unmarried children)						1	1			2
A widower plus his eldest son's family						1				1
A widower (? plus his unmarried children)				1						1
An unmarried woman		1								1
An unmarried man				1						1
Unmarried siblings			1							1

Composition of Occupants
of Each House

/333 cont./

175 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors
342 of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/
description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII,
p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114]

2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which
would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which pro-
jects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which
steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement,
too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the
hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in
the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially
cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground
between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be
done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia
Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout.
Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[113]
[127]

3. In the written notes on his trip through
southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54,
which he made available to me for my use;
the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na
krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia
zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian
Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-
1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/,
ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113]

4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i
54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

²/₁ [i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

/333 cont. /

4. (cont.)

1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

195 detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the
342 sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low
352 plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers,
354 in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either
[192] side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller
[171] yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak
earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for
the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe
sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it
[184] at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin
those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

[113]

6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plieniu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.